

should interpret these results; and, certainly, depending on where you are, you probably, maybe, come to certain different interpretations.

But some of what I heard this morning from a Democrat analyst was that this is evidence that the Democratic Party needs to double down on the big, reckless tax-and-spending bill because people who voted in Virginia and New Jersey last night didn't know what was in it, and when they find out all the good things that are in it, they are going to love this and they are going to want to support Democrats.

And I have to say I think that completely misses the point. I think what people are saying is they don't want to hand the keys to their lives to Washington, DC. This massive, reckless tax-and-spending spree that is being contemplated here by Senate Democrats is historic in its sweep, its expansion, its growth of government, its cost, its pricetag, and it is historic in terms of the amount of taxation that will be put on the backs of the American people in order to pay for it.

And I think what happened last night was a repudiation. It was repudiations of the nanny state and its belief that Washington knows best and that we should get people in this country more dependent upon Washington, DC.

I think what the American people are saying is: We don't want to be more dependent on Washington, DC. We want Washington, DC, to let us live our lives and to focus on the things that are really important to us.

And I think that the issues that were important yesterday had a lot to do with schools and kids and parents and whether or not they feel like they have control over their children's futures and what they learn in schools.

I think it had to do with the economic future that people were looking out as they envision the future for them, for their kids and their grandkids, and they are looking at how stretched their incomes now are because of this growth and inflation.

They are spending more on gasoline. They are spending more, as we head into the winter months, to heat their homes. They are spending more on food. They are spending more on housing. Literally everything in their world that they spend money on is going up, meaning their incomes are stretched thinner and thinner.

So I believe that what people were saying last night is: We don't want more Washington government and less freedom. We want less Washington government and more freedom.

And I think that resounded across the Commonwealth of Virginia and across New Jersey. And I would suggest that the takeaway for Democrats here in Washington should be not we are going to double down, we are going to spend—we are going to ram through in a partisan way this massive tax-and-spending bill; but, rather, let's pull back. Let's see what is happening out there in the economy. Let's see how it

is affecting the average American worker and the average American family and the average American small business, and perhaps head in a slightly different direction that doesn't involve taking more taxes out of our economy and increasing inflation by flooding the zone with more government spending and, therefore, creating higher and higher inflation and ultimately making things more expensive for the American people to where they look at their personal financial situation and realize how much just the cost of inflation is impacting their family budgets on a daily basis, on a weekly basis, on a monthly basis.

That, to me, should be the takeaway coming out of this because I certainly don't believe in any respect that it wasn't that the American people didn't know what is in this massive tax-and-spending bill; rather, it is that they do know. They are finding out what is in it, and they are finding out that these are a lot of—there is a whole ton of spending in here.

And, honestly, you have to be pretty darn creative to figure out how to spend \$3½ to \$4 trillion, and there is a ton of taxing that goes with it.

And there was a study that came out yesterday from Penn Wharton, which suggested that this massive and reckless tax-and-spending bill actually runs over a \$2 trillion deficit over the 10-year period.

If you look at the window, what it says is it is going to cost \$3.9 trillion. This is based on the text that is currently available. And the taxes that are proposed to be raised generate about \$1.5 trillion in revenue; therefore, a \$2.4 trillion addition to the Federal debt, which is already, as we know, at the \$30 trillion range and growing, literally, by the day.

So I would simply suggest to my colleagues here on the other side of the aisle that the message coming out of these elections is not "We want more government for the American people. We want more dependence upon Washington, DC. We want Washington, DC, to do more things for us;" but, rather, "We want Washington, DC, to get out of the way, quit trying to run our lives, and create the conditions that are favorable for economic growth and job creation and higher wages so that we can take care of our families, rather than having to depend upon Washington, DC, to do it."

I hope that this will be the resounding message we need to defeat this massive tax-and-spending bill and allow the American people the freedom they need to lead their lives and to have better opportunities for them, for their kids, and for their grandkids—and better wages.

Mr. President, I understand we have a vote coming up here, so I will yield the floor.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will re-

sume consideration of the Harris nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Benjamin Harris, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

VOTE ON HARRIS NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Harris nomination?

Mr. THUNE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ROUNDS).

The result was announced—yeas 78, nays 21, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 457 Ex.]

YEAS—78

Baldwin	Graham	Padilla
Barrasso	Grassley	Peters
Bennet	Hassan	Portman
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Reed
Blunt	Hickenlooper	Risch
Booker	Hirono	Romney
Brown	Hyde-Smith	Rosen
Burr	Inhofe	Sanders
Cantwell	Johnson	Sasse
Capito	Kaine	Schatz
Cardin	Kelly	Schumer
Carper	King	Shaheen
Casey	Klobuchar	Sinema
Cassidy	Leahy	Smith
Collins	Lee	Stabenow
Coons	Lujan	Tester
Cornyn	Lummis	Thune
Cortez Masto	Manchin	Toomey
Cramer	Markey	Van Hollen
Crapo	McConnell	Warner
Daines	Menendez	Warnock
Duckworth	Merkley	Warren
Durbin	Murkowski	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murphy	Wicker
Fischer	Murray	Wyden
Gillibrand	Ossoff	Young

NAYS—21

Blackburn	Hawley	Rubio
Boozman	Hoeven	Scott (FL)
Braun	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cotton	Lankford	Shelby
Cruz	Marshall	Sullivan
Ernst	Moran	Tillis
Hagerty	Paul	Tuberville

NOT VOTING—1

Rounds

The nomination was confirmed.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the Coleman nomination, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read the nomination of Isobel Coleman, of New York, to be a Deputy Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development.

VOTE ON COLEMAN NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Coleman nomination?

Mrs. MURRAY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) is necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ROUNDS).

The result was announced—yeas 59, nays 39, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 458 Ex.]

YEAS—59

Baldwin	Heinrich	Reed
Bennet	Hickenlooper	Romney
Blumenthal	Hirono	Rosen
Booker	Kaine	Sasse
Brown	Kelly	Schatz
Burr	King	Schumer
Cantwell	Klobuchar	Shaheen
Capito	Leahy	Sinema
Cardin	Lujan	Smith
Carper	Manchin	Stabenow
Casey	Markey	Tester
Collins	Menendez	Toomey
Coons	Merkley	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Murkowski	Warner
Duckworth	Murphy	Warnock
Durbin	Murray	Warren
Feinstein	Osoff	Whitehouse
Gillibrand	Padilla	Wicker
Hagerty	Peters	Wyden
Hassan	Portman	

NAYS—39

Barrasso	Fischer	McConnell
Blackburn	Graham	Moran
Blunt	Grassley	Paul
Boozman	Hawley	Risch
Braun	Hoeben	Rubio
Cassidy	Hyde-Smith	Scott (FL)
Cornyn	Inhofe	Scott (SC)
Cotton	Johnson	Shelby
Cramer	Kennedy	Sullivan
Crapo	Lankford	Thune
Cruz	Lee	Tillis
Daines	Lummis	Tuberville
Ernst	Marshall	Young

NOT VOTING—2

Rounds
Sanders

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HICKENLOOPER). Under the previous order, the motions to reconsider are considered made and laid upon the table, and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's actions.

The Senator from Illinois.

ELECTION SECURITY

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, today is the 1-year anniversary of an election that was judged the most secure in the history of America. Let me say that again. The election that ended November 3, 2020, 1 year ago, was judged the most secure in American history. That is not my opinion; that is the official conclusion, under the Trump administration, of his Department of Homeland Security, which coordinates with the Nation's top cyber security and voting infrastructure experts to protect our elections. They released that assessment 10 days after last year's election, and they did it in the face of a dangerous and unprecedented avalanche of attacks and tweets from the enraged President Donald Trump, who claimed falsely that the election had been stolen from him.

Those election security experts were not alone. President Trump and his loyalists filed more than 50 lawsuits in

State and Federal courts, repeating their false claims of voter fraud and stolen votes—50. Every crackpot theory that Rudy Giuliani could glean or spawn on the internet was tested in court. How did they do? Fifty lawsuits. No evidence to back their claims in the courts; only bizarre conspiracy theories and far-right internet gossip, which they accepted as gospel. Well, the lawsuits were all dismissed, some even by judges President Trump had nominated. It was not a great day for the theory of a stolen election in the courts of America.

What happened next? What happened was documented by the Senate Judiciary Committee, which I chair. We brought witnesses before us to really explore stage 2 of President Trump's effort to overturn the last election.

When he couldn't win in the courts, he decided to go to the Department of Justice. William Barr, his honored, loyal Attorney General, resigned after announcing he could find nothing wrong with the election, and then President Trump took it in his own hands. With a few of his allies, one of them Jeffrey Clark in the Department of Justice, they tried to pressure the Acting Attorney General, Jeffrey Rosen, to send a letter out to the attorneys general and other State authorities across the Nation to tell them to suspend reporting the electoral college vote count.

Well, Jeffrey Rosen and others stood up to the President even when he threatened to dismiss him and replace him. In fact, when that happened, a number of people in the Department of Justice, many of whom were appointees by President Trump, said that they would resign en masse if that happened.

So the Trump approach to take this to the Department of Justice and to railroad his way through there failed, but the Big Lie continued. We all know about the death and destruction of the Big Lie in this Capitol Building, in this Senate Chamber, on January 6. In this Capitol Building, 5 people lost their lives, and over 100 law enforcement were attacked by the mob that descended on this building. The entire world looked on in disbelief to think that a President would send a mob up to overrun the Capitol and to stop the electoral college vote count.

The Big Lie is also corroding America's faith in our electoral system. A new poll released this week disclosed that only one in three Republican voters trusts that the 2024 elections will be fair—only one in three.

One year ago, Americans braved a lethal pandemic to cast their ballots. Many stood in line, some for hours. The 2020 general election saw the highest voter turnout in more than a century, according to the Brennan Center. And as I said, it was our most secure election ever, as judged by President Trump's Department of Homeland Security and his Attorney General, William Barr. We ought to be proud of that.

Sadly, however, instead of telling people the truth and defending our elections, lawmakers in many States are using the Big Lie, propagated by former President Trump, as a pretext to undermine America's right to vote. We need to use examples here so you understand what we are saying.

Remember the runoff election for two senatorial seats in the State of Georgia? It was an important election, and there were unprecedented numbers of voters participating in it. The law in Georgia at the time said that people could register to vote between the official election count on November 3 and the runoff election count in January. Then the Georgia Legislature, after two Democratic Senators were elected, changed that and said: No, you can't register to vote in that interim period of time. They reduced the amount of time that people would have to cast absentee ballots.

Since the January 6 assault on the Capitol, more than 425 bills have been introduced in 49 States to make it harder to vote and in some cases easier for some politicians to overturn elections if they don't like voters' choices.

This is exactly how democracies wither. If we undermine the most fundamental concept of democracy—the right to vote and the right for people in that electorate to choose its leaders—we are going to weaken this democracy that we were honored to inherit.

Three times this year on the floor of the U.S. Senate, Republican Senators have used the filibuster, which historically has been the favorite tool of segregationists—and I might add, many of those segregationists were Democrats—to prevent this Senate from even debating voting rights. Let me say that again. Republicans have used the filibuster to prevent the Senate from even debating both the For the People Act twice and the Freedom to Vote Act.

The other day, I looked up the cloture vote on another of our Nation's great laws, the Civil Rights Act of 1964. On June 10, 1964, Senators voted to end the longest filibuster in history and allowed the Civil Rights Act to move forward. The vote tally is important. Among Republican Senators, 27 voted for cloture to end the filibuster, and 6 voted not to, to support the continuation of the filibuster—27 to 6 on the Republican side. The vote by Democratic Senators, as history judges it, and I stand by that judgment, was less noble. Forty-four Democrats voted to end the filibuster on the Civil Rights Act, and 23 voted to sustain it.

So if the Republicans voted with such a strong majority in favor of ending the filibuster that was propagated by Democratic Senators at the time against the Civil Rights Act, what has happened since? What has become of this Republican Party, this party of Abraham Lincoln? In fact, what has become of the party of Ronald Reagan?

You see, 40 years ago this week, President Reagan proudly signed a bill